ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

CONTENTS FOR APRIL

MSS. sent to the Editor will receive careful consideration. Business communications should be addressed to the Manager, ISLAMIC CULTURE, Civil Service House, Hyderabad, Deccan.

THE ARAB RULE IN SINDH

I

AFTER giving a summary of Huien Tsang, the Chinese monk's travels in Sindh, in his 'Early History of India' Vincent Smith writes :—

" From other sources of information we learn that the Kingdom of Sindh, of which Baluchistan was a dependency, in those days was rich and powerful, far more populous and fertile than it is now. It occupied the whole valley of the Indus from the neighbourhood of the Salt Range to the sea, and was separated from India proper by the 'lost river' the Hakra or Wahinda, the Sin-tu of Huien Tsang." (Early History of India, 355).

As the author, just quoted, has left his reference to the "other sources of information" in a mist of vagueness, it is almost impossible to imagine that he meant any but Arabic and Persian works written by Mussalman historians or geographers, dealing with Sindh, the translations of some of which have since appeared in Europe. Such books alone could form the basis of a history of the period preceding the conquest of Arabs. But one who has read them will discover that Vincent Smith's statement is at variance with accuracy. Almost the first bit of trustworthy information available about "the territories of Sindh" is found in the Report on the ثغر الہند (Indian Borderland) which *Hakim Bin Jabalah* presented to Hazrat *Usman* (may God be pleased with him), the third *Khalifa*. Hakîm bin Jabalah was specially commissioned to collect reliable information about ثغر الہند (the Indian Borderland). It seems certain that ثغر الہند or the Indian Borderland in those days included Sindh, because 'Makaran' had already been conquered in the time of the second *Khalifa*. Hakîm executed his mission, doing what he could in the way of reconnaissance; and when he returned the Governor of *Iraq* asked him to proceed to the Khalîfa's Court to narrate personally what he had witnessed. Hakîm's characteristically laconic and rhymed description is preserved to this day. He said :

ماؤها وشل لصها بطل ان قل الجيش فيها ضاعوا ان كثروا جاعوا

" (Water is not deep there ; available fruits are sour ; the robbers are daring ; a small force will be lost, and a large one will starve there). The Khalîfa wondered if Hakîm was trying his skill at rhyming ! But Hakîm assured him that it was a faithful report. This led to the abandonment of the idea of invading India.

This quotation leads one to believe that, at least, the condition of the western districts of Sindh, at that time, was not quite prosperous. Although we have not succeeded in ascertaining the exact date, it is tolerably certain that Hakîm Bin Jabalah came out on his mission during the earlier part of Usmân's Khilafât ; in all probability in 24 A.H. (644 A.D.) or the year following.

Chachnama and its Testimony

But if there is any ' book ' in which we catch a glimpse of the state of affairs prevailing in Sindh previous to the Mohammadan conquest of that Province, it is *Chachnama*[1]. It is the Persian translation of the earliest work of History in Arabic which deals with the early Mussalman conquests of Sindh. No doubt its Persian translator has added some narratives of his own and omitted certain portions of the original. Still much useful contemporary information has been left unimpaired, while the authenticity of the Arab author himself seems unquestionable. In fact this was the reason why the heirs of the author treasured it as a dear memento of their ancestor and preserved it as a precious heirloom for a hundred years, when *Ali Bin Hamid*, a well-known Persian writer (who had emigrated from Iraq), on arriving in Bhakkar on his self-imposed errand of hunting for old historical works was amply rewarded by Qazi Moulana Ismail Bin Ali, who entrusted to his literary care the valuable manuscript so long preserved. The date of the translation is 633 A. H. (1216 A.D.) according to the translator ; and it is this Persian version which has come to be known by the various titles of " The History of Hind and Sind." (Târîkh-i-Hind-o-Sind), " Minhaj-ul-Masàlik, and " Chachnâma," of which the last is the best known.

We learn from this work that in the year 84 A.H. (703 A.D.) some Arabs of the *Allafi* clan assassinated *Sa'id Bin Aslam Kallabi*[2] the Governor of Makran, and later his successor ; and, fearing the consequences of their

1. *Bilazari* in *Futuhal Buldan* p. 432. *Tabari*, has ascribed this incident to the time of Hazrat Umar Faruq, (Omar), the second Khalifa.

2. History of India by Elliot. Vol. I., p. 428, on the authority of *Chachnama*. *Tuhfatul Kiram* Vol. 3, p. 9. But *Futuhal Buldan* says that *Muja'ah* died a natural death, p. 485.

outrages, fled into Raja Dahir's dominions and sought his protection. *Hajjaj Bin Yusuf*, thereupon, appointed *Mohammad Ibn Harun* to the governorship of Makran; the territories of both Makran and Persia being under that blood-thirsty Governor-General at the time. The new *Wali* or Governor was specially directed to leave no stone unturned in bringing the Allafi rebels to book, and avenging the blood of Sa'îd Bin Muslim. Mohammad, accordingly arrested and beheaded an Allafi, and in reporting it to Hajjâj added that if he were spared long enough he was resolved to round up every one of the fugitive rebels. Consequently for a period of 5 years he went about, "subduing rivers and forests in their pursuit[1]." The last sentence affords a clue to the conditions prevailing in the western districts of the dominion of Sindh, and corroborates the report Hakîm Bin Jabala had made at the Khalifian Court some 60 years before.

Another noteworthy occurrence took place about this time. Some pirates held up and plundered some vessels belonging to Mussalmans, off the coast of Sindh, while the latter were on their way from Ceylon to Iraq. These sea-robbers are said to have come from *Debal* or its neighbourhood. Sir Henry Elliot has, after elaborate research, arrived at the conclusion that the said town of *Debal* stood on a hill near the present city of Karachi, where the fortress of *Manora* is situated[2]. The majority of modern scholars agree with him, but some are of opinion that it was situated on the site of the present city of *Thatte* or to the south of it where the village *Kakar Bukera* stands to-day. In any case its site has been traced to some part of the coast of Sindh. This incident has been recounted only to remind the reader that when Hajjaj sent the Raja of Sindh a 'Note' demanding compensation for the outrage and the punishment of the offenders, the Raja returned a reply declaring that he could not be held accountable for the misdeeds of malefactors, over whom he exercised no control. All the circumstances of the time help to acquit the Raja of offering a lame excuse; for nearly every small or big town of the coast and southern districts of Sindh, was more or less autonomous. In fact, while the Government of Sindh was itself a feeble one all the natural sea-trade routes of Sindh were closed. To say the least of it, all the sea-ports of Sindh had, about the

1. Elliot's History of India Vol. I. p. 429.
2. Elliot's History of India p. 376., also Imperial Gazetteer Vol. XXII, p. 315.

time of the Muhammadan conquest, become the haunts of pirates, where they sought shelter. Let alone seaborne merchandise, seafaring itself had been rendered a perilous enterprise in those parts. After having conquered Debal, *Mohammad Bin Qasim* traversed a long stretch without coming upon any other town or fortress, which appears to signify that all the arable lands lying in the South and irrigated by the river Sindh were but very sparsely inhabited. To this circumstance may be attributed the characteristic reply Hajjâj received from the *Khalifa Walid* some time between the years 86 A.H. (705 A.D.) and 96 A.H. (715 A.D.) when he applied for leave to lead a punitive expedition against the pirates and Raja *Dahir*, who had welcomed the Arab rebels under his protecting wing. The reply received ran[1]: --

"It is a distant land, which yields little and entails expenses; where armies go and get lost; it would be advisable to turn your attention away from that direction." This is how Sindh was situated before the arrival of the Mussalmans. It was only natural to fear the destruction of an army, cast upon the resources of that arid and deserted country, for sheer want of provisions.

After the Muslim Conquest

Let us now turn to the condition of that country as it appeared after the Muhammadan conquest, and critically examine the evidence available in regard to various periods in order to be able to form a correct idea of the gradual changes effected. In this connection the first point to be noted is that although *Mohammad bin Qasim* had in a sense, conquered Sindh in the year 94 A.H. (713 A.D.) and big towns had passed into the possession of the Mussalmans, it took a long time to complete the work of subjugating the entire province and consolidating and firmly establishing the Muslim power there. In the first place the principal land-holders, (who were hereditary rajas, and as such only nominally subject to the central suzerain power), continued to resist the Muslim invaders, and till the very end availed themselves of every possible opportunity of becoming independent. Among the other factors which conspired to prevent the Arabian *Khalifas* from giving full attention to this question were

1. Tuhfatul Kiram Vol. III., p. 12. Elliot has used about the same words, and has relied on the authority of *Chachnama* and *Abdulfida*. History of India Vol. I., p. 431. The source of information on which the compiler of *Tuhfatul Kiram* relies is also Chachnama (*vide* Vol. III. p. 5.)

(1) the discouraging stretch of distance which divided them from the conquered territory, (2) civil feuds and (3) the collapse of the Ummayad power. Available data go to show that before the appointment of *Hisham bin 'Umar Taghlabi* as Governor of Sindh, (which was about the middle of the 2nd century A.H.), the Mussalmans had not been allowed the opportunity of establishing themselves in, and firmly administering, this province. At any rate, their administration or culture had made no marked impression there, and *Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh's* book "*Al-masalik wal-mamalik*" indirectly supports this view.

Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh and his Geography

Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh's full name was '*Abul Qasim Ubaidullah* Ibn-i-Abdullah' and he was a Parsi convert to Islam, who steadily rose to be a *Vizir* (minister) in the time of one of the Abbasid Khalîfas [1]. He was the first to collect geographical information about the Mussalman dominions, and included in his book an account of Sindh, referring to which he observes "Indian incense, cane and bamboos are imported from thence[2]." This statement furnishes a clue to the fact that about the third Islamic century trade relations had come to be established between Islamic lands and Sindh. Further on Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh mentions Sindh among the trade-routes of Jews and Russians, and there are clear accounts which go to prove that caravans were constantly arriving there from China, Russia, Europe and Africa, and commerce by sea and land was beginning to find an increasingly flourishing market there[3].

Astakhri and Ibn i-Hauqal.

Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh has, primarily, confined his work to a description of various cities and a statement of distances covered by highways; but the fact that the cities newly founded by Mussalmans find no place in his Geogrgphy may be taken to indicate that Sindh and its new cities had not come to claim the place of importance which they seem to occupy in Geographies of later dates; among which the latest appears to contain by far the fuller and more useful information. But having regard to priority of time we shall take up Abul Ishaq Ibrahim bin Muham-

1. *Ahsan-ut-Taqasim* on the authority of *Ma'arfatul Aqalim* p. 862. This statement of *Mukdasi* is not borne out by any other history. But it is beyond doubt that *Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh* was appointed to high posts from time to time.
2. K itb-ul-Maslik-wal-mamalik, p. 62.
3. Ibid— pp. 158 and 154.

mad *Al-Astakhri's* work first. He embarked on his tour of the Muslim world in the early part of the fourth century of the Hijrah, and has given an account of events of nearly a century following Ibn-i-Khurdadbeh's narrative. Dealing with Sindh he says " The city of Mansûrah, called Brahminabad in Sindh, a mile[1] in length and about the same in breadth, is situated on an island in the delta of *Mihran* (the river Indus). The inhabitants of the city are Muslim by religion and affect the dress of the people of Iraq. They and the natives speak Arabic and Sindhi respectively. Similarly the people of *Multan* and its neighbourhood dress themselves like the people of Iraq-i-Arab (Mesopotamia). Multan is half the size of Mansûrah and covers the same area as the city of Alor."

Referring to *Debal*, he says that it was situated on the coast, west of the river Mihran, and was reckoned as a big market place, the neighbouring countryside of which grew corn[2]. Ibn Hauqal's account is couched in similar language, and a perusal of both these Geographies leads one to conclude that two centuries of Arab rule had changed the entire condition of Sindh. Islamic morality and culture had permeated everything ; many flourishing towns, both small and big, had sprung up, owning prosperous landholders (*Zamindars*) and well-to-do merchants. It is to be noted that this period (*i.e.*, the 4th century of the Hijrah era) was politically one of progressive decline of the *khilafat* of Baghdad ; when the sanguinary civil disputes of the *Yamani* and *Nazari* tribes combined with the insurrections of the *Ismaili* sect were tending to break up the Arab power. Sindh, too, had become bifurcated into two principalities, where rulers of Arab blood had reduced their allegiance to the Khalifa of Baghdad to an attenuated nominal form. But in spite of all this the process of civilization was on the onward march ; in fact, as is borne out by another testimony, not only had agriculture and commerce made considerable progress,

1. Mile here is equivalent to Arabic *Zira* or Persian Farsakh, which according to English linear measurement would be about, 3¾ miles. Ref. *Taqwimul Buldan by Abi-l-Fida*, Chapter on *Tahqiqul Amrul Masahat*. In Persia they still use the word *farsakh*, which in terms of English measurement is 3 miles. Encyclo. Brit. Vol. XXVIII, p. 493.

2. " *Al-Masalik wal-mamalik* " by *Abi Ishaq-al-Astakhri* from p. 170 to p. 178. I have given above my own summary of these pages because Elliot's English version is erroneous, especially in respect to Multan and Mansûrah where he says they speak " *Persian* and Sindhi " (History of India Vol. I. p. 29) which clearly contradicts the original. But according to Astakhri (p. 177) in some cities of Makaran they did speak *Persian* and *Makrani*.

but handicrafts and industries, science and learning flourished simultaneously[1].

Let us, now, turn to our final source of information namely *Ibn Abdullah Muhammad Idrisi's* Geography. This author wrote his book in the sixth century of the Muslim era, in which he embodied the most elaborately sifted and by far the largest volume of information regarding Sindh. It is a matter for genuine regret that this work has not so far appeared in print in its entirety ; nor is it in all probability available in manuscript in India. Its French and Latin translations seem to have failed to satisfy scholars ; but we have before us its English version by Sir Henry Elliot, who had occasion to compare the Arabic original with the translations spoken of[2]. Dealing with the country of Sindh, Idrîsi begins with Debal :—

The Geography of *Idrisi.*

" *Debal.* This is a populous place, but its soil is not fertile ......It is a harbour for the vessels of Sindh and other countries. Trade is carried on in a great variety of articles, and is conducted with much intelligence. Ships laden with the productions of Uman, and the vessels of China and India come to Debal. ......The inhabitants of Debal, who are generally rich, buy these goods in bulk and store them......Then they begin to sell and go trading into the country.

Nirun. From Debal to Nirun......three day's journey......Nirun is a town of little importance, but it is fortified and its inhabitants are rich.

Mansura. From hence to Mansura rather more than three days. Mansura was built in the reign of AlMansur of the Abbaside family. This prince gave his name to four different cities......Mansura in Sindh, that of which we are now speaking is great, populous, rich and commercial. Its environs are fertile. The buildings are constructed of bricks, tiles and plaster. It is a place of recreation and of pleasure. Trade flourishes. The bazars are filled with people, and well-stocked with goods. The lower classes wear the Persian constume, but the princes wear tunics, and allow their hair to grow long........ The money is silver and copper......Fish is plentiful, meat is cheap, and foreign and native fruits abound....

1. *Ahsan-ul-Taqasim* on the authority of *Alaqalim* compiled by Allama Shams-uddin Al-Maqdasi Albashari pp. 474 and 479.

2. Elliot's Hist. Ind. Vol. I. pp. 74 to 92.

Bania. It is a little town. The inhabitants are of mixed blood and are rich. Living here is cheap and agreeable. From Bania to Mansura three days..........

Kalari—on the west bank of the Mihran, is a pretty town, well-fortified, and is a busy trading place....Although this town is some distance out of the regular route still it is much frequented in consequence of the profitable trade carried on with the inhabitants. From hence Mansura is a hard day's journey of forty miles.

Dur (ALOR) is situated on the banks of the Mihran..... It is a pleasant place and worthy of comparison with Multan as regards size.

Sharusan. (Sadusan) From Kalari to Sharusan three days......Sharusan is remarkable for its size and for the number of its fountains and canals, for the abundance of its productions and for its rich commerce. It is much resorted to.

Manhabari (Manjabari), a town placed in a hollow, well built, of a pleasant aspect, surrounded with gardens, fountains and running waters........

Multan is a large city commanded by a citadel.... Provisions are abundant and the taxes are light, so that the people are in easy circumstances......At one mile from Multan is *Jandur*—a collection of forts strongly built, very high, and well supplied with fresh waters. The governor passes the spring time and his holidays here.......

Sandur is situated three day's journey south of Multan. It is famous for its trade, wealth, sumptuous apparel and the abundance which prevails on the table of the inhabitants........ "

Idrisi has similarly dealt with some 20 or 25 other important cities, some of which were situated on the coast of Gujarat, while others belonged to *Makaran* and were included in Muslim territories. It would involve arduous labour to trace the sites of all of them and their subsequent history, nor would it contribute to anything but prolixity to copy out their full account from Idrîsi's book ; but a perusal of this geography (which is much more valuable and trustworthy than many histories) presents to one's imagination a most attractive and pleasing picture of Sindh under the Muslims, which amply succeeds in convincing one that three centuries of Muhammadan rule in Sindh had profoundly altered the face of that country, no doubt for the better. We have read

above a brief account of the towns the Muhammadans had built in Sindh. In the arid and uninhabited districts of Makaran, too, they had planted scores of towns like *Kairusi*, *Firbuz*, *Armabel*, *Rasik* and *Darik*, which owned big markets and were abundantly supplied with all the requisites of civilized life, where suitable lands had come under extensive cultivation, where the inhabitants were well-to-do, prosperous, polite, well-informed about the affairs of the world, and hospitable; and while a large number of them had embraced the Islamic faith, almost all had adopted the ways of living prevalent in Islamic countries.

ARAB ADMINISTRATION AND INSTITUTIONS.

The Arab Governor.

Sindh was a dependency, first under the *Khalifas* of Damascus and then of those of Baghdad. It was divided into 4 or 5 large divisions, but this territorial distribution was subject to fluctuation, corresponding to the requirements of different times of emergency, which occured pretty frequently. And, again, although *Makaran* had been made a separate province, it was at times placed under the jurisdiction of the provincial Governor of Sindh. In Arabic "*Wilayat*" means a province or dependent territory and *Wali*, a provincial Governor; but the powers and dignity of the Governor were variable *e. g.*, the Governor above the so-called Deputy or Lieutenant-Governor of Sindh was, also, known by the comprehensive title of *Wali* and generally had several provinces like Sindh under him. However, the *Wali* was invariably appointed by a special order of the *Khalifa* and used to be the recipient of a *Khilat* of seven *parcha* (cloth and other requisites for 7 robes of honour), two swords, two bracelets or armlets, a *parcham* (flag) a *tauq* (a sort of neck-ring or neck-lace with a pendant) and the coronet of *Wilayat*[1] (Governor-ship) equipped with which he used to proceed to assume office. The government revenues, it appears probable, had to be transmitted direct to the seat of *Khilafat*; and in all important matters the sanction of the Khalîfa was indispensable. The principles of government, "according to Islam," had been settled before the conquest of Sindh, and were universally followed except in regard to details of internal administration, which were left to the discretion of the *Wali*, who was held responsible for the 'peace and order' of the province. In fact sometimes, in distant provinces such as Sindh, the *Wali* was clothed with the authority

1. Sanajtulturab, p. 174.

to initiate peace or war also; while the details left to his discretion included the power to reduce, remit or increase the land-revenue in accordance with the condition of crops, to improve and increase the means of irrigation. to make roads and police them. to establish law-courts in suitable places, to found new cities or garrison towns and conclude all similar transactions on behalf and in the name of government.

Military Colonies.

The Arab *Wali* was primarily charged with, and held accountable for, internal peace and order and external defence of the province committed to his authority. He, therefore, used to plant large garrisons at important points; and in distant parts these garrisons gradually grew into colonial cities of Arab victors. The Arab soldiers did not, at first, bring their families out to Sindh but formed matrimonial alliances in that country, and therefore, early military centres soon grew into (mixed) Arab Colonies, and became the permanent homes of succeeding generations. *Mansurah, Qasdar, Qandabel, Baizah, Mahfuzah,* and *Jandour* or Jandowar near Multan were such garrison centres which grew into big towns in a short time. It must, however, be noted that the prosperity of these towns depended on their soldier populations, and accordingly when the Arab power came to grief, those who followed the military profession either lost their careers, or had to leave their homes to seek employment with new masters (whose head-quarters were elsewhere), or were forced by circumstances to disperse to the neighbouring country to pursue agriculture, which is about the only alternative occupation a soldier cares to pursue. The dispersal of the military population of these cantonments naturally led to their desertion by artisans and traders. Thus they fell into decay with the rapidity with which they had come into existence, leaving behind either ruins of great buildings or small hamlets as their successors. But these are happenings which followed the decline of the Arab power.

Let us, in passing, review the Army organisation of the Arab, at this stage. Garrison cities or cantonment, as a rule had, besides barracks (and family quarters) for the soldiers, Government Offices, hospitals, Courts of Justice, Commissariats, and Stables.

These military stations were set up at points selected for salubrious climate; and sanitary principles guided the building of barracks for the soldiers, while extensive

tracts of neighbouring land were appropriated for grazing purposes. Arrangements for horse-breeding received particular attention, and no wonder; for has not horsemanship always been the cherished pastime of Arab soldiers. Cavalry was the dominant force of the Arab army, the remaining factors comprising a respectable force of infantry, camel-corps and in all probability a corps trained in the use of such machines for reducing forts as were in vogue at the time, namely *Minjaniq* and *Dabbabah* (catapults for throwing big stones). The Arabs effected some noteworthy and useful improvements in the armour and weapons of the time; but warfare was in the main, so far, confined to the bow and the sword and the efficiency of a soldier's training consisted in the skilful manipulation of these weapons. The modern sham-fights and manoeuvres, which play a considerable part in army training now, were not the order of the day in that remote period nor does there seem to be any necessity for a warlike people, almost constantly at war, to find time for such amusing preparations. But the Arab soldier so far from idling away his time (in times of peace) usually occupied himself with horse-racing, wrestling, racing, swimming and similar soliderly games and pastimes.

The soldiers received, besides handsome salaries, their share of *booty* or plunder, and were probably exempt from taxes of all descriptions. But superior officers and army leaders on whom *jagirs* or free-hold lands had been bestowed (as rewards) duly paid the assessed sum as *Zakat* (a sort of income-tax), and *Sadaqah* (charity).

Govt. Revenue.

As a matter of fact all such heads of revenue were based on religious sanction. At first no taxes other than *Zakat* and *Sadaqah*, payable by Muslims, and *Jiziah* (or a sort of poll-tax) payable by Non-Muslims, were imposed, but afterwards either local emergency or tyrannical administrators brought about the addition of certain other heads of revenue for which there existed no sanction of Islamic law. It should, however, be noted that some wealthy Mussalmans had to pay a larger sum by way of taxes than the Jizia-paying non-Muslims, inasmuch as the former were required to pay into the *Bait-ul-Mal* (common or communal coffers), sometimes 2½ per cent. and at other times as much as 12½ per cent. (or ⅛th) of their income. The Non-Muslim had only one annual tax or *Jiziah* of 5

dinar (per head), equivalent to Rs. 30 or even less to pay, and thus, while the wealthiest Non-Muslim in no case paid more than 5 dinars annually, the amount which wealthy Muslims were called upon to pay as *Zakat*, etc., exceeded by far the sum paid as *Jiziah*[1]. The rulers guaranteed the security of life and property to those who paid the *Jizia* and instances are to be found in History which go to prove that if the Mussulmans were obliged to withdraw from a place where they had realised the *Jizia*, they scrupulously reimbursed the *Zimmis* (or their wards)[2]. Again, the Non-Muslims who elected and were allowed to serve in the Muslim army were exempt from this tax.

Land Revenue.

Cultivators were required to pay land-revenue in proportion to the growing capacity of the land they tilled; and in assessing the land, great care was taken to secure the correct survey of the arable area, actual yield and kind of the crops. Gibbon was of opinion that the Arabs' land-survey and census-taking of men and cattle would continue to be instructive for the thinking men of all ages[3]. The chief point to be noted, in this connection, is that the Government realised its land-revenue *in kind*, which in the case of lands depending on *rains* never exceeded ¼th of the total produce. As soon as crops were ready for harvesting, either a Revenue Officer or a 'Contractor' went to the spot, and after due weighing of the produce of each field in his presence, took possession of ¼th or less, and left the remainder with the cultivator, or land-lord, as the case might be. This must have put the Government to the necessity of arranging the sale of their share, but it is obvious that this method relieved the cultivator from the fear of over-payment of taxes to the Government, and provided an opportunity for exact ascertainment of the annual yield of the land[4]. The tax payable on the more

1. We have relied for these figures on Elliot Vol. I. p. 477; but Moulvi Shibli's conclusion is that *Jiziah* did not exceed Rs. 20 annually. (*Rasail-i-Shibli* p. 105.)

2. *Rasail-i-Shibli* p. 102, on the authority of *Kitabul Khiraj* etc. In *Futuhul Buldan* p. 137, the word used is Khiraj, meaning, perhaps, that not only *Jizia* but other revenues too were returned on such occasions.

3. " Decline and Fall of the Holy Roman Empire." Chap. 51, footnote 32.

4. This method of payment in kind continued in Sindh until 1863, when the British enforced cash payment of land-revenue (Imp. Gazetteer Vol. 22. p. 423.)

valuable produce of gardens or canal-irrigated lands was somwhat excessive[1]; but, probably no separate water-rate was charged. Thus the total revenue of the province of Sindh amounted to about one crore and fifteen lakhs of *dirhams* (drachmes), which, in terms of British Indian currency, would be equivalent to 40½ lakhs of Rupees. Of course, this did not include the revenue of Makaran, but it should be noted that the province of Sindh, at that time, covered more than three times its present area, and included besides Multan certain districts of Southern Punjab. One other thing to be especially marked is that in those days a large area of land was devoted to religious purposes called *awqaf* all of which was land free of revenue, and no cultivator of such land was required to pay any revenue to Government; but we shall have to deal with this item at a later stage.

Law Courts

However admirable and carefully framed the laws governing the relations between the Government and the subject, or between the subjects themselves, so long as there is no adequate guarantee of their proper administration they may be reckoned as a dead letter. When a foreign people come into possession of a land as conquerors, the poor subject people are, not infrequently, subjected to various forms of injustice, but they must *nolens volens* put up with every hardship in excess of legality. But the Mussalmans endeavoured to provide against such excesses. Relentless and terrible in war, they proved themselves lenient and gentle in peace, particularly if they happened to be the conquerors; mainly because their actions, were based on and guided by Qoranic injunctions, where it is definitely and emphatically laid down that no injustice should be permitted to another nation even during the continuance of hostilities[2]. It is a special feature of Islamic conduct to show politeness and consideration to the weak and the vanquished, in fact it is in evidence among the higher classes of Muslims to such a degree that it would be difficult to find its parallel among any other people. Again, Islamic Government never interfered with the internal and personal affairs of the subjects, which were left in the hands of their natural leaders or

1. Elliot p, 474.

2. Sūratu'l-maida. (The Food). Section 2. " and *let not the hatred of a people incite you not to act equitably* " Moulvi Mohammad Ali's translation of the Qoran. 1st edition 1917. p, 254.

panchayats[1]; that is, in current terminology the subjects were free to enjoy a form of " Self-Government," under the Muslims.

All disputes and causes of action (of a civil nature) arising between Musalmans were taken to the Qâzi's Court. The Government had established these courts in all the principal cities and in garrison towns, where all cases were decided according to the *Shara'* or the Qoranic Law. Muslim jurisprudence had not yet attained the state of perfection, which it did later on, nor had it quite come into its own to enable people to elect to follow any of the four great *Imams* or *jurisprudentes* (namely *Abu Hanifa*, *Shafai*, *Malik* and *Hambal*), and, therefore, each *Qazi* was his own exponent of law, and was expected to administer justice, according to his lights, by finding applicable law in the Qoran and the Prophet's tradition. A little later, however, in some places *Hanafi* law began to be followed.

Penal provisions too were derived from the *Shara'*, and not merely heinous felonies such as homicide and theft, but gambling, drinking, adultery, etc., were made punishable crimes—which latter, by the way, do not merely lead to mischief and strife but contribute to the final demoralisation and annihilation of nations. In any case these legal provisions applied only to Muslims, and there is testimony enough to prove that the Hindu subjects were not forced to submit or conform to these laws, probably because certain of their sects and castes did not attach any great opprobrium to some of the evils mentioned, and therefore, did not regard them as punishable. It is evident that this exemption proceeded from motives of religious toleration. The Muslim Government showed no inclination to force their subjects to act in accordance with laws, which militated against their conscience or customs. They knew that the conception of " democratic government " turns upon " the will of the community " —that is, the persons at the helm of affairs should scrupulously avoid imposing their *will* on the people, and

1. Sir Henry Elliot's " Early History of India. " Vol. I. p. 478. While admitting that during the Arab administration the *panchayats* of the *Hindus* were left intact and allowed to retain their autonomous character, Sir Henry Elliot opines that it was due to the Muslim contempt for the Hindus ! He has not, however, taken the trouble to adduce any adequate proof of this strange accusation. Other allegations of a like nature, not borne out by History, bear witness to his personal bias.

conduct the Government and administer the law strictly in accordance with the *will* of the people (who, by the way, are Sovereign unto themselves), without projecting their personal predilections into the affairs of the State.

Concessions to the Hindus

Viewed politically, this meant a considerable concession to the Hindus; for, in effect, it was tantamount to leaving them free, not merely to settle their legal disputes, but also to frame their own laws. Thus the change of government did not touch their freedom of action in internal matters beyond infusing fresh energy and vitality into the existing organisation; nor did it lay upon them any new burden of the foreign yoke which might prove irksome. In religious matters, too, they enjoyed complete liberty; each man being free to profess any faith and perform worship in his own way. Muhammad Bin Qâsim (the first Governor) had obtained theological sanction from the doctors ('ulama') of Damascus to extend the same concessions to the temples of the Hindus as had been granted to the Christian and Jewish places of worship[1]. But to crown it all, the deferential treatment and honour to which Hindu priests were entitled were maintained, and no curtailment was effected in their 3 per cent. share of the land-revenue, a concession they had acquired only during the ascendancy of the Brahmin rulers of Sindh who were of kin to the Brahman priests[2]! It appears that the Arab conquerors were fully conversant with the art of winning the hearts of the conquered, and were capable of sincerely acting up to their convictions. Although it is universally admitted that toleration, absolute trust and the observance of equality in the treatment of the subject people are the surest guarantees of public tranquility and prosperity, in actual operation these noble principles are generally relegated to a comfortable oblivion. For this reason more than any other, it is particularly gratifying to find that the history of Sindh is frequently interspersed with references to legal provisions which the Arabs enforced to obliterate from the minds of their subjects the feeling of having aliens for rulers. Each letter from Hajjaj Bin Yûsuf contained instructions that those who surrendered and agreed to pay the *Jizia* should be treated with sympathy and equality, and Muhammad Bin Qâsim

1. *Chachnama*. Translated by Henry Elliot Vol. I. p. 186. *Futuh-ul-Buldan*, p. 489.

2. *Chachnama*, p. 182, 183, 469; and *Tuhfatulkiram* Vol. 3. p. 20.

himself reiterated this message wherever he went, and heartened up the vanquished. To the secular and religious leaders of the subjects he constantly said " Build ....temples, traffic with the Muhammadans, live without any fear and strive to better yourselves in every way possible*."

The most effective of all plans to conciliate the subjects was to entrust the work of assessing and realising taxes to the Brahmins, who were their priests. In some of the more noted and big cities, a certain number of well-known merchants had to be selected, whom the Muslim Governor of the place was required to consult in all matters. To avail himself of his advice in regard to more important matters of state, Muhammad Bin Qasim left Raja Dahir's minister in the enjoyment of his former office, and made a point of following his suggestions in almost all matters[1].

It is possible to amplify this account with the instructive maxims and regulations of Muhammad Bin Qâsim, but while resting content with what has been said we shall cast a glance at another aspect of the magnanimity to which these concessions to the Hindus bear eloquent testimony. This other aspect was no other than that which found expression in the religious, educational and other *charitable trusts* which the Arab Government had established. The Government built a *Masjid-i-Jami'* (a mosque for congregational purposes) in every city and garrison-town owning a Muslim community (and the Arab nobles, too, used to cause mosques to be built in suitable places) to the upkeep of which large property used to be devoted. These endowments were free from Government taxes, and were meant to defray not merely the expenses of the repairs and the general upkeep of the mosque, but also the stipends alloted to the learned men (professors) and students ; because the mosque of those days invariably served as an academical institution, to which seekers after knowledge used to flock. It is difficult to give an exact figure of these charitable endowments and bequests but it is possible to get an approximate idea of the generosity of the Islamic Government in this direction from the fact that about the time of the British advent in *Sindh*, nearly one third of

Islamic Awqaf or Charitable Trusts

* Elliot's *Chachnama* Vol. I. p. 186.

1. Ibid, 189, 469.

the entire revenue of the province was devoted to such charitable and religious trusts (awqàf)[1].

Theology

Theology has always been the favourite subject of the Muslims, and is regarded by them as the most important of all the branches of knowledge. During the Arab rule in Sindh this subject received much attention and flourished there as it did in other Islamic lands. Notable professors and doctors of Syria and Iraq, or those who had obtained academical degrees there, taught the Qurân and Hadîs (the *prophet's tradition*) in the principal towns of Sindh. A course of studies subsidiary to the study of Theology later on, developed into lectures on Jurisprudence, Logic, Philosophy, Rhetoric and Grammar ; *Maqdasi*, the last traveller of the 4th Islamic century, who was himself a man of profound erudition, has mentioned in his Geography the names of theologians and authors of note who belonged to Sindh [2]; and accounts are found of famous *Sindhi* learned men and teachers of an earlier period[3].

We omit further particulars for fear of prolixity. The point to be particularly noted is that in the course of studies, thus outlined, pointed stress was laid on ethical training and the formation of character. In the Qurân emphasis is frequently laid on good deeds and clean conduct, and the leading theologians and learned men of that period did not look upon philosophical profundities, and too much logic-chopping in theological teaching with any favour ; but regarded a good character and pious deeds as the proper criterion of learning ; and the condition precedent to the confirment of " the Turban of erudition " (which is the Muslim equivalent of the western " degree, cap and gown ") was the practical proof of piety and a life according to the tradition of the prophet as taught and practised by his first Khalîfas and Companions. Thus if the military prowess of the Arabs reduced the formidable forts of Sindh, their praiseworthy conduct and good manners conquered the hearts of the people ; and it did

1. Elliot, Vol. I. p. 462.
2. *Ahsan-ul-Taqasim* p. 479, 481.
3. For biographical notes on Sindhi men of letters see *Tazkiratul Huffaz*, Vol. II. p. 65, 256 ; also *Mujamul Buldan* Vol. III, p. 166. In this connection it will not be without interest to mention that *Abu Hafs Rabi' Bin Sabih Basri*, the first Muslim author and teacher of the Prophet's tradition, came out to Sindh to take part in the holy war, and according to the author of *Mughni* died there. *Cf. Maasirul Kiram* Vol. I. p. 6. also Tàrîkh-i-Kàmil, the narrative of 160 H.

not take the latter long to assimilate and mix with them so freely as to render it difficult for one to distinguish a *native* from an Arab. Again, although idol-worship, obtained among the native population, there were many followers of Buddha, the ethical tenets of whose faith had some similarity to the doctrines of Islam, and their Rajas and Priests did not take long to adopt the monotheistic creed of the Prophet of Arabia. In fact, the natives of Sindh embraced Islam in flocks. If a statement of the compiler of "*Ajaib-ul-Hind*" may be credited, the first commentary of the Qoran ever written in an Indian language was commissioned by the Raja of Kashmîr[1]; which indicates that in the third century A. H. Islam had begun to cast its light beyond Sindh. This statement appears to be supported by the strange account of the conversion to Islam of a Raja, who ruled somewhere on the borderland of Kabul. This Raja had a son who, according to the narrator of the story, fell ill, and although the priestly oracles, after consulting the gods, predicted that he would recover, he died and the oracular pronouncement was manifestly belied. The Raja, thereupon, sent for some Mussalman merchants and, having satisfied himself about the essentials of the creed, embraced Islam[2].

A perusal of the chronicles of various periods helps one to have an adequate conception of the far-reaching effects upon the life of the native population of Sindh of their adoption of Islam. When this province came under the sway of Muhammad Bin Qâsim, it was populated by many nomadic savage tribes, who lived by plunder and were akin to beasts in their mode of life. This circumstance had led the Brahman Raja of Sindh to provide the most drastic measures against them, according to which, on a conviction for petty larceny, the offender used to be sentenced to be burnt together with his wife and children[3]. But within two or three centuries those very savages and barbarians appear to have become civilized citizens who, according to *Maqdasi* and *Irdisi*, were peace-loving and law-abiding subjects of the rulers, besides excelling in arts, industry, trade and agriculture. The inhabitants of Sindh, 76 per cent. of whom are Mussalmans, are even today, when illiteracy, poverty and the imitation of the western mode of life have conspired to

1. *Vide* p. 3.
2. *Futuhial-Buldan*, p. 446.
3. *Chachnama*, Trans. Elliot. Vol. I. p. 186.

degenerate their simple morals, noted for honesty and veracity [1]

THE ARAB CONQUEST AND A SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

Conquest in Makran

The boundaries of old Makaran, conquered in the time of the second Khalîfa (may God be pleased with him) were nearly the same as the boundaries of the present province of Makaran [2]. After a close and careful study of various histories we have arrived at the conclusion that a third of the Eastern portion of the present province of Baluchistan and Qallat used formly to form part of the old Kingdom of Sindh; but within about 20 years of their early conquests the Muslims conquered and annexed this Eastern part to the territory of Makaran which had already come under their rule, and therefore, this part of Sindh has since been known as belonging to Makaran. This is a point that the earlier historians have not attempted to elucidate and definitely disentangle, with the result that Sir Henry Elliot felt baffled and in many places resorted to erroneous guesses. The Makaran of Vincent Smith (he calls it Baluchisan). which according to him was a province under the rule of the Brahmin government of Sindh, was really a part of Sindh (now forming part of Baluchistan) which the Arabs had seized from the Raja of Sindh and annexed to the conquered territory of Makaran.

This conquest took place during the reign of Amir-i-Mu'awwîya. But the earlier torrent of Arab invasion which drove the Sassanid sovereign out of his fatherland, met with a barrier in the mountain range of Makaran, and, consequently, came to a standstill in the valley of Kaij (in Arabic Koj), particularly because the partisans of Yezd Jurd (Yezd Gurd) were fomenting insurrections in various places in Persia, and the new Arab government was confronted with no ordinary difficulties in suppressing the revolts. In fact it would be only correct to say that the conquest of Persia was finally completed during the reign of the third Khalifa, when the Mussalmans found themselves free to advance. But soon after the assassination of the third Khalifa Mussalmans broke into

1. Imp. Gazetteer., Vol. XXII, p. 408.

2. I have dealt briefly with the raids which the Arabs made into Sindh and upon the Indian sea-coast during the reign of the Second Khalîfa, in my History of India (for Matriculation Class). p. 142 to 144.

civil feuds, and remained divided and disorganised for many years after, until in 41 A.H. (661 A.D.) nearly all the Muslim countries agreed to reunite under one sovereign ruler. This reorganisation and reunion was followed by a resumption of advance by Muslim armies in all directions, and the conquest of Baluchistan, referred to above, as well as raids into the highland districts of Kabul and Kandhar, (which were regarded as parts of India at the time) were the results of this move forward. Sistan and Makaran served as bases whence armies and reinforcements proceeded eastward to the scene of action. It is these " invasions of India," of which the narratives in different annals in Arabic are a fruitful source of blunders. Ibn-i-Mufarrigh, an Arabic poet of this age writes :—

كم با لجرو م وا رض الهند من قدم و من سرا ئلك قتلى لا هم قبروا

(There is many a warrior-martyr who lies in our traces in tropical and Indian lands without a grave.) By " India " and " Tropical lands," the poet evidently means Kabul and Baluchistan, which in the days of Amîr-i-Mua'wwîya were repeatedly the objective of raiding expeditions, and parts of which were also conquered.

To swell this chronicle with the record of such minor military operations would be obviously undesirable, particularly when it is remembered that they relate to places beyond the Indian frontiers. Within the Indian borders no specific invasion was so far made upon the province of Sindh proper. Colonel Tod, who has imposed the dignified title of " Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan " upon a collection of unreliable legends says somewhere that the Mussalmans carried their raids through Sindh into Rajputana about the year 65 A.H. (684 A.D.). But this was a period when the Ummayad government was deeply entangled in internecine feuds, and Merwan or Abdul Malik at the time of their succession (65 A.H.) scarcely had the time to dream of sending invading expeditions to foreign countries. In short Tod's narrative is in the words of Elliot nothing but " Baseless fiction."

Invasion of Sindh.

Even after Abdul Malik had overcome his adversaries, and the administration of Iraq and Persia had devolved on Hajjâj Bin-i-Yûsuf Saqafi, the Mussalmans had no design to invade Sindh, but two accidental events, referred to in a foregoing section, forced Hajjâj's attention to the campaign and he duly obtained the permission of the

Khalîfa al-Walîd Bin Abdul Malik, (86 to 96 A.H.=705 to 715 A.D.) to send a punitive expedition to Sindh to suppress the sea-robbers of Debal. Al-Walîd did not feel inclined to sanction an expedition to so distant and uninhabited a land, but was persuaded reluctantly to yield to the persistent requests of Hajjâj, who accompanied his petition with a promise to double the tribute. Hajjâj first deputed Abdullah Bin-i-Binhan to conquer Debal and Southern Sindh, but he was unsuccessful and was succeeded by Budail Bajeli, who, too, fell on the battlefield while many Muslim soldiers were taken prisoners, and thus Hajjâj felt provoked to take a vow not to rest content till he had sternly avenged this reverse. It appears that the people of Nairon[1], too, took part in the last-mentioned engagement, and although they won the day, they had sufficiently gauged the strength of their Arab foe not to be deluded by their accidental success into a false sense of security, and they sent Hajjâj a petition on behalf of the people of Nairon seeking for peace and promising to pay a tribute if the Arab government would undertake to grant the Naironites an amnesty, and guarantee for the future their security. Hajjâj conceded these terms, but warned the Naironite envoy that if all the Muslim prisoners were not released safe and sound, the people of Sindh should know that not a single non-Muslim soul would be spared up to the confines of China. However, on learning this terrible resolve the people of Debal apparently treated it with indifference, and shutting themselves up in the fortress continued to speed on their preparations for the expected struggle, until Muhammad Bin Qâsim led his reinforced armies into Sindh and carried the fortified town of Debal some-time about the month of Rajab (?) 93 A. H. (712 A.D) after a siege of some months. Whether it was the rankling memory of the piratical outrages of the past or the pent-up rage released on the conclusion of the prolonged siege, when the Muslim troops at last succeeded in scaling the walls they spared no combatant, and a terrible slaughter ensued in the streets of Debal, which

1. The majority of Persian and later English authors and geographers are agreed that Nairon is the old name of the present Hyderabad Sindh, where there still exists a fort of that name. But Sir Henry Elliot seems to be determined to contradict this concensus of historical opinion. He opines that Nairon stood some 35 miles from Hyderabad Sindh, near the village Garak, where the present village of Halai is situated. He regards Hyderabad as the modern successor of the ancient Mansûrah. Elliot Vol. I. p. 400.

continued for three days. There is a detailed account of this carnage to be found in Chachnâma ; but some of the particulars narrated appear to be self contradictory and unconvincing. At any rate, if the triumphant general respected the vow of Ḥajjâj to the letter in dealing with the recalcitrants of Debal, wherever else he went he carried a message of kindness and peace, and invariably concluded peace on easy terms with whoever sued for it—whether a town or a tribe. Probably in the month of Ramadan of the same year, a big battle was fought with Raja Dahir, whose personal valour and strength have found many eulogists among the Persian chroniclers. But his army was routed and he himself taken in action. Aror or Alor, the seat of his government, surrendered, and in almost every other engagement after this the Mussalmans carried the day.

Mohammad Bin Qasim's victories.

To record all the issues joined by Muhammad Bin Qasim with the survivors of the Raja, or other semi-independent chiefs would be to swell these annals disproportionately, and besides to attempt to unravel the identity of the various geographical sites which were the scene of those operations would be to indulge in comparatively fruitless labour. The excessive brevity of the Arabic chronicles and the annoying verbiage of the Persian records leave one wholly undecided as to which route Muhammad Bin Qâsim followed in his triumphant march. However, according to one account contained in the Chachnàma, he carried his victorious armies to the mountainous borders of Kashmîr on the one hand, and to Qannauj (Kannoj) on the other, while all the country lying in between he is reported to have conquered.

Sir Henry Elliot is willing to concede this point and admit the extent of these victories, if Kannoj is taken to mean the outlaying districts of the State of that name, which at that time extended to the vicinity of Ajmere[1]. But Bilazari definitely says that Muhammad Bin Qâsim had conquered Multan, when he received the news of Hajjâj's death, and, therefore, retraced his steps to Alor[2]. We, too, are persuaded to regard the last-mentioned statement as worthy of credence. But the conquest of Multan further implies that all the country stretching

1. Elliot Vol. 1. p. 434. The compiler of Tuhfatul-Kiram too, has confined his account to the " borders of Kanuoj. " Vol. 3. p. 22.

2. Fuluhal Buldan, p. 440.

out to Dipalpore in the East, and extending up to the city of Jhelum in the north, all of which formerly formed part of the kingdom of Sindh and comprises nearly one half of the western part of the Punjab of to-day, had been conquered by Muhammad Bin Qâsim or his lieutenants; and down in the south-east the present State of Bahawalpur and a slice of northern Rajputana, too, had passed into Muslim possession. Nearly all circumstances appear to support the statements in Chachnâma, which fix the outlines of Raja Dahir's territories as indicated above[1].

Personality.

At the time of these victories Muhammad Bin Qàsim was not more than twenty. He was a mere lad, scarcely seventeen when he took command of the army and led it from Shiraz to Sindh. A poet has sung his youth thus:

ساس الرجال لسبع عشرة حجة - ولداته عن ذاك فى اشغال

(While his playmates indulged in games, he a youth of 17 bacame a ruler and commander of warriors). During his early commandership he succeeded in several big campaigns, stormed and carried strong fortresses, displayed conspicuous military ability and personal valour, and victory seemed to attend his arms wherever he went. The generalship of Alexander the Great, who invaded these lands a thousand years before with a considerably greater army and more war material, pales before the military achievements of this Arab youth. Not one among the chiefs and Rajas who opposed the armies of Alexander could be compared to the resourceful and powerful Raja Dahir, whom Muhammad encountered and defeated. Again even the one-sided accounts of Greek historians go to show that Alexander's strategy and tactics were not free from unsoldierly conduct; he would sometimes come upon unarmed peasants quite unawares and display an utter disregard of all the rules of chivalry and pity by massacring them. His victories left no lasting impression in India; nor were they as wide and extensive in scope as the conquests of Muhammad Bin Qasim. Speaking generally, when the achievements of the conqueror of Sindh are taken into consideration, the only generals whose deeds deserve to be mentioned by the side of his are Mûsa Bin Nusair, Tariq, the conqueror of Andalusia (Spain), or Qutaiba Bin Muslim, who scored victory after victory in Morocco and Spain in the

1. Tuhfat-ul-Kiram. Vol. 3, p. 8. Also Elliot, Vol. I. p. 405 on the authority of Chachnâma, Tàrīkh-i-Sindh, etc.

West, and Sogdia and Bactria (Sighd and Bukhara) in the East. It was no fault of Muhammad Bin Qâsim that he was not born an absolute monarch like Alexander, nor was it anything but Fate's decree that he had no opportunity to extend the field of his conquests over as vast an area during the brief flash of his life as was granted to the Greek conqueror. Indeed, these are matters in which human efforts and capability do not avail.

We have instituted a comparison between the quality of Muhammad Bin Qâsim's generalship and achievements during a brief interval of 3 years in Sindh, and the successes attained by Alexander in India. Muhammad was not destined to display his genius after his début in Sindh; otherwise, as Elliot[1] admits, there was nothing to prevent him from subjugating India and sweeping all before him to the confines of China—in obedience to orders from Hajjâj. His youth, universal popularity, and successive victories spurred his ambition; and the excellent manner in which he managed and organised the conquered territories is as amazing, and is evidence of the fact that he was born to be a conqueror and ruler of vast countries. All our histories are agreed that he dealt with Sindh in a spirit of broad-minded sympathy and gentleness. He imposed no changes on the prevailing customs or laws which might be irksome to the people or savour of the conqueror's despotism. The disposition of the Arab garrisons was so wisely carried out, and cities and fortresses were so excellently drawn into the policing scheme, that peace and order were restored in the province within three years—laws were enforced to ensure the progress and prosperity of the subjects, and the young conqueror came to be loved and respected among the people of Sindh.

The historian Bilazari, whose scholarly brevity seldom permits him to devote attention to such events, observes that when Muhammad was suspended from office and sent to Persia under arrest "the Indians wept for him, and the inhabitants of Khairaj made his image and worshipped him[2]." Hamza Bin Baiz has endeavoured to pack this conception of Muhammad's virtues into a couplet of panegyric thus:—

ان المروة والسماحة والندى - لمحمد ابن القاسم بن محمد
ساس الجيوش سبع عشرة حجة - يا قرب ذلك سوددا من مولد

1. Elliot, p. 484.
2. Futūh-ul-Buldan, p. 440.

But perhaps the most convincing proof of his freedom from any prejudice or narrow-minded bigotry, and of his administrative acumen is furnished by the fact that in the all too brief a space of his administration he had managed to raise a considerable army from among the natives, and had mustered, (besides the garrisons stationed in various military camps), a force of 50 thousand fresh soldiers in Multan ready to proceed to the North or the East as they might be ordered[1].

Arrest and Decapitation.

All the preparations for the projected campaign were probably complete, when Muhammad received the evil tidings, first of the death of Hajjâj and then of the demise of Al-Walîd Bin Abdul Malik. Suleman Bin Abdul Malik, who was on bad terms with the family of Hajjâj, ascended the throne (96 A.H. 714 A.D.), and purposely appointed Sâlih Bin Abdur Rahman governor of 'Irâq, because some persons belonging to the family of the latter had been executed by the order of Hajjâj. Sâlih, therefore, caused almost every soul belonging to the family of "Abi Aqil," Hajjâj's primogenitor, to be searched out and murdered and, appointing Yazîd Bin Abu Kabsha Saksaki, as governor of Sindh directed him to arrest Muhammad Bin Qâsim and send him up. This order was duly carried out and the young conqueror of Sindh silently surrendered himself, leaving in this act of loyal submission and humility a record, by all standards of discerning criticism, of valiant manliness more amazing and abiding than all the chronicles of his victories. Bilazari, the historian, has quoted a few verses of Muhammad, in which the author affirms that if only he had cared to defend himself, a considerable army would have mustered to his side to lay down their lives for him, and no Saksaki would have dared to touch him[2].

Muhammad was imprisoned in Wâsit, a city in Persian Irâq, where he was, also, decapitated. He himself says in a verse :—

فلئن ثويت بوا سط و با رضها

رهن ا لحد يد مكبلا مغلولا ا لخ

There seems no human reason to doubt the account of this suspension and decapitation as narrated above,

1. Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, Vol. III. p. 22 ; and Elliot, p. 435.
2. Futūh-ul-Buldan p. 441.

but the Chachnâma has quite a romantic story about it, which, further embellished by Mîr Ma'sùm has, been retold by later Persian authors, and although Sir Henry Elliot regards the former narrative as nearer the truth[1], modern English writers seem to have a tendency not to follow Elliot but to relate the other fiction in different ways so as to reflect discredit upon the Arab ruler[2].

Further victories by Junaid.

Saksaki, the successor of the conqueror of Sindh, did not live long after assuming the office of his predecessor, and the other governors who were appointed during the following nine years remained too deeply engaged insupressing insurrections of rebellious chiefs, or smoothing out civil disputes, to find much leisure to devote to the affairs of Hind (India) or Sindh, until Junaid Bin Abdur Rahmân Almarri succeeded to the office in 105 A.H. (724 A.D.), and renewed the memories of Muhammad's victories. Although his conquests did not prove so lasting, their extent surpassed the achievements of Muham-

1. Elliot. p. 437.

2. Briefly restated, the fiction referred to assumes that the booty from Sindh included two virgin daughters of Raja Dahir who were sent off to be presented to the Khalîfa. When, however, the Khalîfa proposed to honour them by sending them to his Harem, they demurred and accused Muhammad Bin Qàsim of having robbed them of chastity. The Khalîfa waxed furious over this allegation of betrayal and ordered Muhammad Bin Qàsim to be brought up to Damascus, sewn up alive in the hide of an ox. When, however, his corpse arrived in this gruesome condition, and was shown to the accusers, they saw fit to chide the Khalifa on his hasty decision, and informed him that by designing this utterly false accusation against the deceased they had hoped to avenge their father's death. The Khalîfa bitterly repented his act and fretted and fumed when he heard how he had been deceived by those girls, whom he caused to be killed after terrible tortures. But S. Lane-Poole in his "Mediaeval India" p. 11, opines that the second crime could in no way atone for the first, and curiously enough he also admits that Muhammad Bin Qàsim's death occured during the regime of Al-Walid's successor, which fact alone would suffice to establish the groundlessness of the whole story. Mir Ma'sûm, and the translator of Chachnàma do not clearly state in which year and by which Khalîfa's order Mohammad met with this atrocious end; if they had taken the trouble to look into these particulars, the fictitious nature of this story would not have remained unrevealed.

It is not worth while to say anything about the other Persian or English authors who have done no more than copied the story. Moulana Abdul Halîm Sharar, has discussed the question at exhaustive length in Part I of his History of Sindh and, quoting the authority of a number of Arabic Histories, has conclusively proved that this tale is wholly fabricated.

mad. After quelling the internal revolts and risings, he led the first compaign against "Kairaj." Elliot identifies this with some ancient city of Kachh; but, as he is persuaded to surmise, it must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of "Mandal, " which Junaid invaded some days later, and which, again, according to Elliot is the ancient "Mandwar" of Rajputana, or a town in the state of Jhalawar[1]. This last guess leads us to hazard another, namely, that it would not at all be surprising if "Khairaj" turned out to be what is otherwise known as the "Kan Kraj, " a district or State, the old ruins of whose seat of government bear eloquent witness to its past glory[2]. Again, the country lying between the present state of Palanpur (near Sindh) in Gujarat must have formed the natural sphere of operations for Sindh's Arab governor; and after subjugating it, his armies must have advanced upon Marmad, Mandal, Dhanaj and Barus. Apparently, after permanently occupying the last mentioned places, he despatched an expeditionary force under the command of Habîb bin Marrah, to Malwa, which overran the entire country right down to Ujjain; and turning himself to "Jundor" and "Belman" conquered them[3]. Of these Arabic names "Dhanaj" is the only name that it is difficult to trace exactly. Otherwise, relying on Chachnâma and Beglarnâma Sir Henry Elliot identifies Belman with Nilma, which was the name given to the country lying between Sindh and Jaisalmir; Marmad seems to be the equivalent of Marwar, and Barus of the present Bhroach; nor is there any difficulty in recognising "Jazar" (جزر) as the Arabic equivalent of "Guzar-(at). " Professor Dowson, the able editor of Elliot's History, has arrived at the same conclusion after much research[4].

Although Junaid's conquests were transitory, there is scarcely any room for doubt that, during his short term lasting from 105 to 107 A.H. (724 to 726 A.D.), the Arabs dominated the whole country comprising the north-west of India. It is a pity that Arabic histories contain only annoyingly bald accounts of these Indian conquests, because they abound in accounts of the Khalîfas of Damascus and Baghdad or their successors, and touch

1. Elliot, Vol. I. p. 391.
2. Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. 14. p. 403.
3. Futuhul Buldan p. 242; Elliot p. 442; History of Sindh by Moulana Sharar Part II, p. 29 on the authority of Yaqubi.
4. Elliot, p. 358.

Sindh and the doings of its governors only lightly by the way. The same is the case with the later Persian histories which deal with the Ghaznavid sultans or the sovereigns of Delhi. Their authors appear to have contented themselves with collecting scraps of uncritical information about the governors of Sindh ; in fact, it is to be wondered at that such capable compilers as Nizâmuddîn and Abul Fazl too, have handled their materiel on this subject with extreme carelessness, and have consequently been betrayed into frequent blunders. It is, however, wholly providential that some evidence of the events above-mentioned has been preserved to us in the national ballads and traditions of the Rajputs. However slight the historical value of these rhymed or unrhymed stories may otherwise be, they furnish a definite inference, which we may quote below in the words of Colonel Tod, that devoted admirer of the Rajput race :

"Throughout the period mentioned above (*viz :* 8th Century A.D.) there was a stir amongst the Hindu nations, in which we find confusion and dethronement from an unknown invader who is described as coming sometimes by Sindh, sometimes by sea and not infrequently as a demon and magician ; but invariably as *melachchha* or 'barbarian.' From 694 to 724 the annals of the Chauhans the Chawras and the Guhilots bear evidence to simultaneous convulsions in their respective houses at this period*."

Junaid's Successors.

Sir Henry Elliot has drawn on Chinese chronicles too for corroborative testimony as to these Arab conquests[1] ; but we cannot adequately avail ourselves of this source of information. It is certain, however, that Junaid's achievements were the high water mark of the Arab tide, and that his successors failed to pass beyond the line of his advance. When this rising governor, who had covered himself with soldierly distinctions, was promoted to the governorship of Khurasan, Tamim Bin Yazîd succeeded him in Sindh. He was an exceedingly careless and temperamentally slow ruler, though his name has passed into the list of Arab philanthrophists, because he granted a versified petition of Farzdaq, the well-known Arab poet. Probably most of the distant lands conquered

* Annals of Rajasthan (Oxford edition) Vol. I. p. 288.

1, Elliot, Vol. I, 442.

by Junaid passed out of Muslim possession[1] while he remained in office. And evidently it is this very Tamîm, whom Elphinstone has described as successor to Muhammad Bin Qâsim and about whom he says "The advance of the Muhammadan arms ceased with the life of Casim. His conquests were made over to his successor Tamim, in the hands of whose family they remained till the downfall of the house of Ommeia, that is, for about thirty six years; when by some insurrection, of which we do not know the particulars, the Mussalmans were expelled by the Rajput tribe of Sumera, and all their Indian conquests restored to the Hindus, who retained possession for nearly 500 years." (History of India. p. 304).

In other words Elphinstone disposes of nearly three centuries of Arab rule by packing it into a few years and a few words; although in "Târîkh-i-Farishta," the authority on which he relies, we fail to find either this sentence or the allocation of these dates. Moreover, where Ferishta has dealt with Sindh (chapter 8, Section 2) he has more than once complained of his want of definite knowledge of Arab conquests and subsequent events, regretting that he had not succeeded in discovering any well-known histories (he probably meant Persian histories) containing definite information about them. Further it is to be deplored that modern English historians have a tendency to follow Elphinstone on this subject, and cold-shoulder Elliot, who had, most industriously, translated portions of a number of Arabic and Persian history books, and supplemented his "History of India" volume 1, with an essay of permanent value covering the history of Sindh.

Tamîm was succeeded by Hakam and 'Omar Bin Mohammad Qâsim, son of the conqueror of Sindh, respectively, and the Mussalmans regained much of their lost territory during their rule; and the foundations of the cities of Mahfûzah and Mansûrah were also laid[2]. Of these Mansurah rose to much eminence and remained the seat of government and a flourishing market for a considerable time.

We agree with Elliot in locating the site of Mahfûzah where Nasirabad stands to day; whereas Mansûrah

1. Elliot, p. 442.
2. Futûh-ul-Buldan, p. 444; Idrîsi has erroneously connected this city with the name of the Abbasid Khalîfa, Al-mansûr and supposed its foundations to have been laid during his regime.

was planted as a monument to many victories in the vicinity of the ancient "Brahminabad[1]." Its archæological remains have recently been excavated.

Abbasid Khilafat.

According to Ya'qûbi, 'Omar Bin Muhammad was succeeded by Yazîd Ibn-i-A'rar[2], probably some time about 126 A.H. (744 A.D.), but Tuhfatu-l-Kirma and Târîkh-i-Sindh contain some contradictory versons [3], also. This confusion appears to have arisen from the fact that the event under inquiry relates to a period conspicuous for the storm of revolution which put an end to the Ommayad dynasty and installed the Abbâsids in their place.

When peace was restored (by about 132 A.H. 750 A.D.) the second Abbâsid Khalîfa Abu Ja'afar Al-mansûr appointed Hishâm Bin 'Umar Tughlabi governor of Sindh in 142 A.H.[4] (760 A.D.), who infused new vitality and energy into the government of this Muslim dependency. Hishâm extinguished all internal dissensions and rid the country of every vestige of unrest; then, turning his attention to conquests, subjugated certain lands lying as far up in the North as the hinterland of Kabul and Kashmîr, which had not come under Mussalman rule so far. Similarly he despatched a naval expedition along the western coasts of Gujarat to the South and conquered "Barda." Depending, as one must, on the bald accounts found in Arabic histories it is imposible to fix the boundaries of his conquests; but the particular point to be noted, which is conceded by all the early and modern historians, is, that it was under Hishâm that the Islamic power in Sindh attained the highest degree of security: in fact, it was only then that Sindh came to be legally regarded as a "Muslim Dependency."

Independent Arab States of Sindh.

To enumerate and describe all the governors who followed must necessarily remain the province of him who devotes himself to writing a detailed history of Sindh. But one of them, who won a wider fame was Omran Bin Mûsa, a Barmakid, founder of the city of Baiza, who was

1. Moulana Sharar's Tarikh-i-Sindh, Part II. p. 38.
2. Ibid.
3. Tuhfatul Kiram Vol. III. p. 23; Elliot, p. 443.
4. Both Elliot and Bilazari have erred in fixing the date of this event. See Tarikh-i-Hind by Sharar Part II. p. 60.

appointed governor of Sindh in the year 221 A.H. (836 A.D.).

Suffice it to say here that, during the following one hundred years, the peace and prosperity of the vast province of Sindh under governors appointed by the Abbâsids were insured by the security and stability of the power enjoyed by the latter. No doubt, the peace of the dependency was disturbed now through the mischief-fomenting antagonism of the Yamanite and Nazarite Arabs and now through the dangerous disaffection of the Ismailia and Qaramita sects ; but on the whole the general pace of progress and public prosperity was in no way seriously impeded. In fact, as borne out by Mas'ûdi, the historian, and later Arab geographers, even when two independent States had been set up there by Quraishite Arabs after the decline of the Abbàsid power, internally Sindh continued to enjoy tolerable prosperity. Mas'üdi came out to India in the year 393 A.H. (915 A.D.) as a tourist and although some unsound matter has found its way into his book, even the purely personal observations he made during his travels are of interest and value to us. We learn from him that about this time Abdullah Bin Omar Habbari ruled the southern province as a hereditary sovereign, and had Mansûrah for his seat of government ; while the northern state extended over a larger region, and Abu'l Lubàb ul-Munabba reigned over it. with his capital at Multàn. These Quraishite Emirs had surrounded themselves with all the paraphernalia of regular crowned heads and apparently their indulgence in luxury prevented them from prosecuting any campaigns. Moreover, prolonged residence in Sindh hnd transformed them and most of the Arab residents into a mixed race, who had long severed all connections with the fatherland. This isolation must have been further encouraged by the prevailing atmosphere of political independence, and even if the arrivals of fresh parties of Arabs did not altogether cease, they must have considerably dwindled. In short these and many other causes, conspired to prevent the development of any powerful state in Sindh, (such as those established in the trans-Caspian or North Persian regions) after it had broken with the Khilafat, and split up into independent principalities. Multàn and Mansûrah never combined together to make a powerful and united kingdom ; on the other hand, it appears that some time later they lost their western part ; and in Makaran and in the north four separate states sprang up, where

the names of the kings of the Buid dynasty were coupled with the names of the Abbàsid Khalîfas in the Friday Khutbah.

Ismailia and Qaramita Sects.

The above accounts relate to the days of Astakhri and Ibn-i-Hauqal's travels in India, which would be about the middle of the fourth century of the Hijrah. But when Maqdasi came out towards the close of the fourth century he found that even the religious link which had formerly bound Sindh to the Khilàfat of Baghdad had snapped, and they were openly reciting the names of the Fatemite Khalîfas of Egypt in the Friday Khutba at Multan ; and that, apart from this, the Qaràmita and Ismaîlîa sects were daily claiming an increasing number of converts[1], till finally the government of the whole of Sindh passed into their hands. When Sultàn Mahmûd Ghaznavi invaded the country about 401 A.H. (1010 A.D.) men of these sects had spread all over the province and dominated it. Both the sects may be regarded as early branches of the Shi'ite sect ; but some of their sub-branches widely and violently differ in faith and in the theory of State government from the rest of the Muslim world and especially, from the Sunnites. The position was, therefore, for some time critical and perilous for Islam and all Islamic countries when, in the fourth century A.H. men of the Ismaîlî persuasion succeeded in founding a vast empire in Africa, and the sister community of Qaràmita fomented disturbances in 'Iràq and Hejjàz. It was a pure accident that there arose differences among the Ismaîlîs, and their political power crumbled away.

Somrrah and Samah.

But men of this persuasion again seized the province of Sindh after decay had set in the Ghaznavid empire, and their ruling clan or tribe is known to history by the name of "Somrah." Some Persian authors have carelessly described the latter as Rajput converts to Islam, and some of the later English writers have, in a way, extinguished the last spark of Muhammadan rule in Sindh by stripping them of the last vestige of Islam and describing them as pure Hindu Rajputs. But the valuable researches of M. Abdul Halîm Sharar of Lucknow with reference to this subject have successfully proved that they were Jewish converts to Islam, who had originally come from Iraq and settled in Sindh and who, after adopting the Qirmiti

1. Ahsanul-Taqasim, p. 481, 485.

articles of faith rose to power and ruled the province of Sindh from about 375 A.H. to nearly 740 A.H.[1].

The author of Tuhfat-ul-Kiram fixes the end of the Somrah rule in the year 752 A.H. (1351 A.D.), the date of the commencement of the Samah dynasty's sovereignty; and Sir Henry Elliot concurs with this date[2], but Beglaranàma and Tàrîkh-i-Tàhiri give differing dates. The reason for this variation appears to be that Sindh was now becoming the hunting ground of the sultan of the Ghur dynasty and other rulers of Delhi, and the upheaval caused by these invasions used to keep the local government in an unsettled state for years. In any case, it is tolerably certain that the change of government, referred to above, happened some time about the middle of the eighth century A.H. and nearly all historians are agreed that the Samah rule itself came to an end in 927 A.H. (1251 A.D.).

Recent researches have revealed the fact that the new dynasty spoken of in the immediately foregoing lines was Rajput by race and Muslim by faith; and its ruling head had assumed the Indian title of Jam. It was during their reign that Islam spread in the south of Sindh, where many tribes embraced the Arabian Prophet's faith[3]. Persian histories, too, contain references to the high capability and piety of some of the rulers of this dynasty; but our historians bestow the highest praise of all upon Jam Nizâmuddîn popularly called Nanda, during whose long reign lasting from 866 A.H. to 909 A.H. (1503 A.D.) the power of the Jam dynasty reached its zenith from every point of view. After him Sindh lapsed into civil feuds, and then it fell a prey to Shah Beg Arghun Khan, a descendant of Changiz Khan. Husain Shah Arghun, his son reigned over Sindh, when Humayun was compelled to abandon his campaign in India, and make his way through Sindh out to Iran (Persia). Hussain died childless in the year 962 A.H. (1554 A.D.) and the kingdom of Sindh was divided among his officers who are known as Tarkhans. They ceased to be independent in 1000 A.H. or 1591 A.D. when the entire province was permanently annexed to the Moghal Empire.

1. Tàrîkh-i-Hind Part II. p. 13.
2. Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, Vol. III. p. 49; Elliot, Vol. I. p. 495.
3. Encyclopædia Brit. Vol. XXV, p. 143 Imperial Gazetteer Vol. XXII, 396 and Elliot, p. 496.

Translation Bureau, Hyderabad.

SYED HASHIMI